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THE MEDIAN VERSION OF

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION

OF DARIUS HYSTASPES.

TRANSLATED BY

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THE scientific world is greatly indebted to the manly exertions and indefatigable labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson, who copied, at the danger of his life, the three texts of Behistun, and who explained, in so masterly a manner, the Persian original and the Assyrian version.[1] The Median text has been given after Sir Henry Rawlinson's casts by Norris in his highly valuable work entitled, *The Scythic Version of the Behistun Inscription.*

MM. Westergaard, de Saulcy, and Holtzmann did not explain the Behistun, but worked especially on the

[1] See *Records of the Past*, Vol. I., p. 107.

Persepolitan documents. M. Mordtmann endeavoured to decipher these texts, but with scarcely more success than his predecessor Norris.

I occupied myself some twenty years with the Median version, and I believe that I have made out the sense of many difficult passages in a definite way. The Median version being the most complete of the three documents, several of the most original parts of the text have now been satisfactorily explained.

I have also added some notes, to justify the exactness of the translation, and to point out some facts which had not been made known before.

MEDIAN TEXT OF
THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION.

COLUMN I.

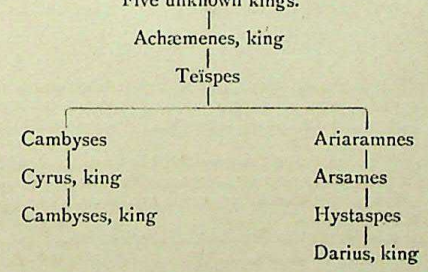
1 I AM DARIUS, the great King, the King of Kings, the King of the Persians, the King of the Lords, the son of HYSTASPES, the grandson of ARSAMES, the Achaemenian.

2 And DARIUS the King says: My father is HYSTASPES, and the father of HYSTASPES' father was ARSAMES, and ARSAMES' father was ARIARAMNES, and ARIARAMNES' father was TEISPES, and TEISPES' father was ACHAEMENES.[1]

3 And DARIUS the King says: On that account we called ourselves Achaemenian of race: from ancient times we have been mighty, from ancient times we have been Kings.

[1] Achæmenes was the last king independent of Persia, and therefore the kings after Cyrus declared that they were his descendants. He was the sixth of his race. It is highly probable that Achæmenes was superseded by Phraortes, the Median king (657-635), as it was he who first subdued the Persians; he was the great grandfather of Cyrus. As Cyrus was born 599 B.C., the chronology agrees perfectly well.

There is the pedigree of the race.



4 And DARIUS the King says: Eight Kings of my race have before me held the kingdom. I am the ninth, who hold the kingdom. Twice [1] we have been Kings.

5 And DARIUS the King says: By the grace of ORMAZD I hold the kingdom: ORMAZD granted me the kingdom.

6 And DARIUS the King says: These are the countries which called themselves mine: by the grace of ORMAZD I held their kingdoms: Persia and the Amardes (Susians),[2] and the Babylonians, and the Assyrians, and the Arabs, and the Egyptians, and the maritime people, and the Sapardes,[3] and the Ionians, and the Medes, and the Armenians, and the Cappadocians, and the Parthians, and the Sarangians, and the Arians, and the Chorasmians, and Bactria, and the Sogdians, and the Paropamisus,[4] and the Saces, and Sattagydia, and Arachosia, in all 23 provinces.

7 And DARIUS the King says: These are the provinces which called themselves mine. By the grace of ORMAZD, to me they made subjection, brought tribute to me, what was ordered by me unto them in the night time as well as in the day time, that they executed.

8 And DARIUS the King says: In these provinces, the man who was a friend,[5] I cherished him, the man who was an enemy, I punished him thoroughly. By the grace of ORMAZD, in these lands, my law was observed: what was ordered unto them by me, that they executed.

9 And DARIUS the King says: ORMAZD gave to me this

[1] Twice, at two different epochs, once before Achæmenes, the second time beginning with Cyrus. The Persian *duvitātaranam* cannot be explained otherwise. Teispes, Ariaramnes, Arsames, Hystaspes, have never been kings.

[2] *Halvirdip* is the name of the Susians, the Persian *Uvája*, *Khouz*, the Semitic Elam. Norris has already compared the name of Αμαρδοι, in Strabo.

[3] Lycians. The word *Sapard*, Sepharad of Obadiah, has been conserved also in the Greek *Sarpedon*.

[4] Paropamisus replaces the Gandara of the Persian.

[5] The Persian text has *daustā*, badly read until now *agatā*.

kingdom, and ORMAZD was my helper until I gained this kingdom, and by the grace of ORMAZD I possessed this kingdom.

10 And DARIUS the King says: This is, what I did, by the grace of ORMAZD, when I gained the kingdom: The named CAMBYSES, son of CYRUS, was king here before me. This CAMBYSES had a brother, named SMERDIS (BARDIYA), they had the same mother and the same father. Afterwards, this CAMBYSES killed SMERDIS. When CAMBYSES killed SMERDIS, the people did not know, that SMERDIS was killed. Then CAMBYSES went to Egypt. The people became bad, and many falsehoods grew up in the provinces, as well in Persia, as in Media, as in the other lands. And then a man, a Magian, named GOMATES, from Pasargada,[1] near the mount named Arakadris, there he arose. On the 14th day of the month Viyakhna,[2] thus he arose: To the people he told lies, and

[1] Pasargada, in Persian *Paisiyāuvādā*, literally, Valley of Sources, a spot near Darabdjerd, in the South-east of Farsistan, where exist till now the ruins of the fortress which enclosed the tomb of Cyrus. I explained myself on this question in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1872, T. xix., p. 548. *Pesiachada* is not accompanied by the word *hise*, "named," it was therefore a very well known place.

Murghab with its tomb cannot be possibly the Pasargada of the ancients, and the monument of Murghab is not the tomb of Cyrus. It is on the same river as Persepolis, on the Araxes, while Pasargada was situated on the river Cyrus, which goes into the Persian Gulf.

Moreover, the monument now seen at Murghab, and named "Throne of the Mother of Suleiman," is surely the tomb of a woman. No archæologist can be uncertain on this point, as the same difference, now observed in the East, between the flat or round covers of men's sepulchres, and the covers of female tombs in form of a gable-roof, is to be found in the royal tombs of Persepolis. The modern inhabitants of Persia have not been mistaken on that subject. But the construction of the Murghab monuments is due to Cyrus, whose inscriptions exist there; it was the ancient Marrhasion. I therefore consider it as almost certain that the monument, often erroneously styled the tomb of Cyrus, although already Lassen suggested judicious remarks against that opinion, is in fact the sepulchre of Kassandana, the beloved wife of Cyrus, mother of Cambyses. Compare Her. II.

[2] The month of Viyakhna is the Assyrian Adar, March. On the supposition, that the Persians had a solar year, commencing with the vernal equinox, falling at the epoch of Darius, March 22 Gregorian, March 23

said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS, the brother of CAMBYSES." Then all the people revolted from CAMBYSES, went over to him, and the Persians, and the Medes, and the other nations. He seized the kingdom. On the 9th day of the month Garmapada[1] he took the royalty from CAMBYSES. Then CAMBYSES[2] died, killing himself.

11 And DARIUS the King says: Of this my kingdom the Magian GOMATES had deprived CAMBYSES, this kingdom had belonged to our race since the most ancient times. Now, GOMATES the Magian, deprived CAMBYSES as well of the Persians, as of the Medians, as of the other nations, he did according to his own will, and seized the royalty over them.

12 And DARIUS the King says: There was neither a man in Persia, nor a Median, nor any one of our race who would have dispossessed GOMATES the Magian of the kingdom. The people feared him utterly. He killed many people who had known the former SMERDIS. He killed many persons for the following reason, thinking: "May they not acknowledge me, that I am not SMERDIS, son of CYRUS?" And nobody dared to say about GOMATES the Magian, any thing whatever, until I came. And I prayed to ORMAZD. ORMAZD was my helper. By the grace of ORMAZD, on the 10th day of the month of Bagayadis,[3] then accompanied by a few men, I killed

Julian, 14th of the Viyakhna would be the 6th or the 12th of March, 522, or 9,479, in adding 10,000 years to the Christian era. I have adopted this way of computation in order to prevent the inconvenience of the negative numbers.

[1] If Garmapada is August as it is probable, the 10th Garmapada would coincide with the end of July.

[2] Cambyses killed himself. A suicide is evidently in the thought of Darius, and by no means an accident. His mother was Kassandana, Persian *Každandana*, with the swan's neck, *dē každanda*, swan.

[3] Bagayadis must be the Nisan; the Assyrian coincidence is lost. As *Garmapada*, "the time of the heat," must be July—August, or Ab, the Magian reigned just seven months, as says Herodotus, who adds many

GOMATES the Magian, and with him the men who were his principal adherents. There is a fortress, named Sikhyuvatis,[1] in the country called Nisaea, in Media; there I killed him, I dispossessed him of the royalty, by the grace of ORMAZD, I had the kingly power, ORMAZD gave to me the royalty.

13 And DARIUS the King says: The kingdom which had been robbed from our race, I restored it. I put again in its place. As it had been before me, thus I did. I re-established the temples of the gods which GOMATES the Magian had destroyed, and I reinstituted, in favour of the people, the calendar and the holy language, and I gave back to the families what GOMATES the Magian had taken away. And I replaced (the) people in their ancient state, as well the Persians, as the Medians, as the other nations, just as they had been before. I restored

details, more or less credible. But the first arising of the Magian amounts still until midst of March, 14 Viyakhna, 522 B.C. 9,479.

In taking as a base the now existing commencement of the Persian year, at the spring's equinox, we would have for the dates:

First revolt of the Magian . .	4 March 522;	9,479
Real accession to the royal power .	1 August 522;	9,479
Death of the Magian . . .	2 April 521:	9,480

[1] The name of the spot where the Magian was killed, is Çikhyuvatis not Çikhthwatis. The character *y* has been taken for *th*. Here the statement of Darius proves a minor error of Herodotus, who says that the Pseudo-Smerdis was killed at Susa. But the Father of History is right, in speaking of the love that all people, except the Persian, had towards the Magian, who had retired to Media.

The revolt of the first Pseudo-Smerdis was not only the rebellion of an indignant impostor, who took only the name of Smerdis for his proper purposes. It was an attempt to restore the ancient Median dynasty and to abate the faith of Zoroaster, reigning since the accession of Cyrus, 560. The Magian changed the calendar, I think (*gaithā* the world) and the language *māniya*, or the faith, which Darius restored "for the sake of the people" (Persian *kārahyā abiçaris*, Median *Dassumunna nutas*). Darius restored the temples of the gods which Gomates had destroyed. It was therefore a political and religious revolution.

There is a difficulty which nobody, I think, suggested. How is it possible that the son Smerdis should have abolished all that his father, Cyrus, had established? At least, the Magian borrowed the name of the son of Cyrus. It was therefore only a measure to take possession of the kingly power under a pretext, and to throw off the mask, when he believed that he could do so without any danger.

what had been robbed. By the grace of ORMAZD, thus I did; I made great efforts, until I established again our house in its state, as it had been before; and thus I made my efforts, by the grace of ORMAZD, as if GOMATES the Magian had never dispossessed our family.

14 And DARIUS the King says: This had been done by me, after I seized the kingdom.

15 And DARIUS the King says: When I killed GOMATES the Magian, then a Susian, named ASSINA,[1] son of UMBADARANMA, rose in Susiana and said: "I have the kingdom over the Susians." Then the Susians revolted from me and went over to this ASSINA, and he had the kingdom over the Susians. And also a man, named NIDINTABEL,[2] a Babylonian, son of AINAIRI, he arose in Babylon, and spoke thus to the people, lying: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS." Then all the people of the Babylonians went over to this NIDINTABEL. Then the Babylonians made defection, and he seized the kingly power over the Babylonians.

16 And DARIUS the King says: Then I sent an ambassador to the Susians. This ASSINA was taken, bound and brought to me: then I killed him.

17 And DARIUS the King says: Then I marched against Babylon, against this NIDINTABEL, who said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR." The army of this NIDINTABEL was

[1] The name of the man is in Babylonian Asina, and is Aryanized to Athrina; his father called himself Upadar(an)ma in Persian, in Median Hum-badaranma; this is also the genuine form, and in the inscriptions of Assurbanhabal occurs the Susian name Umbadara.

[2] Nidintabel was, according to Darius, the real name of the false Nebuchadnezzar, second son of Nabonidus. The first son, Belshazzar (*Belsarusar*) was probably viceroy in some other part of Chaldæa, during the reign of Cyrus, and in the same time as his father Nabonidus. He was superseded by the famous Darius the Mede, who was probably a satrap of the Persian king. Daniel says that "he was put to govern," which does not seem to indicate an independent royalty.

ranged on the river, named Tigris.[1] It occupied the banks of the Tigris, and was massed on ships. Then my army was divided into small groups. The one I put on camels, the other I made ride on horseback.[2] ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD we crossed the Tigris. There I killed the army of this NIDINTABEL. On the 26th day of the month Athriyadiya, then it was that we fought the battle, then I killed a great quantity of people.

18 And DARIUS the King says: Then I went to Babylon. I had not yet arrived under (the walls) of Babylon, when, at the town named Zazana, on the bank of the Euphrates,[3] NIDINTABEL who said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR" went against me, with his army, in order to fight a battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD I destroyed the army of this NIDINTABEL. It was on the second day of the month of Anamaka that we delivered thus the battle. I killed a great deal of the army of this NIDINTABEL, and I made them fly into the river; in this river they were drowned.

19 And DARIUS the King says: Then NIDINTABEL fled with a few horsemen and reached Babylon. Then I

[1] Remark the expression, the river *named* Tigris, which is neither in the Persian, nor in the Assyrian text, and which denotes that the spot where the language was spoken was far away from the stream.

[2] The Median text, as in many other instances, gives the real sense of the Persian original, which was misunderstood equally by the magnificent, but unprogressive, work of Kossowiz. The Persian has, *aniyam usaŀārim akunavam, aniyahyā açam patiyānayan*, alium camelo-portatum feci, alii, equum adduxi.

[3] The name of the Tigris is *Tigra*, and that of the Euphrates *Uprato*, the Persian *Ufratu*. The spot where Darius crossed the Tigris must be between Mossul and Bagdad, as he arrived from the North-east. He found on the Tigris the Babylonian troops, and it is very probable that he turned them, and crossed the river far from the positions of Nidintabel, whom he defeated on the Mesopotamian side. From thence he marched through Mesopotamia, and beat the enemies, six days afterwards, on the Euphrates. The battle of the Tigris took place, in anticipating the Gregorian calendar, 18th of December, 521; 9,480. The battle of Zazanna took place 24th of December, 521; 9,480.

marched against Babylon. By the grace of ORMAZD, I took also Babylon,[1] as I made captive NIDINTABEL. I killed this NIDINTABEL in Babylon.

[1] The capture of Babylon took place only twenty months afterwards, which Darius does not state. But the authority of Herodotus is splendidly corroborated by the very dates of the Behistun inscription, which we shall presently prove.

COLUMN II.

20 And DARIUS the King says: Whilst I was at Babylon, these provinces rebelled against me: Persia, and the Susians, and the Medes, and Assyria, and the Egyptians,[1] and the Parthians, and the Margians, and Sattagydia, and the Saces.

21 And DARIUS the King says: A man, named MARTIYA, son of ISSAINSAKRIS,[2] dwelled in the town named Kugannaka, in Persia. He arose among the Susians, and lied thus to the nations, saying: "I am IMMANNES, King of the Susians." And I was just friendly to the Susians, and the Susians feared me, seized this MARTIYA, who called himself their Chief, and killed him.

22 And DARIUS the King says: A man named PHRAORTES, he arose among the Medes, lied to the people and said thus: "I am SATTARRITTA,[3] from the offspring of VAK-ISTARRA."[4] Then the Median people who dwelt in houses, rebelled against me, went over to him: he exercised the kingly power over the Medians. The Persian

[1] The Median text states that the Egyptians revolted, the Persian and Babylonian texts are lost. The Behistun inscription in its first redaction does not mention this, neither the rebellion of the Sattagydes and the Saces. The Saces' revolt only is treated in the supplementary Persian column. There are some Median tablets at Behistun which have never been copied.

[2] Issainsakris is a real Susian name, which the Persians Aryanized to Cincikhri, which was perhaps a nick-name, and changed in order to ridicule it. It may mean, "seller of small things." The Susian true name may signify "son of value." *Issan* is to be found in the Susian text of Sutruknakhunté.

[3] The name of Sattarritta is the true Median one, and by no means an alteration of the Aryanization, Khsathrita, which would have been transcribed in Median, Iksatrita, as Khsayarsa becomes Iksersa, Xerxes. This form of Sattarritta is very important, because it proves also the independence of the Median names, and the true character of the dynasty of this land.

[4] Cyaxares, Assyrian *Uvakistar*, Persian *Uvakhsatara*. The Median words signify "lance-caster," "lance-bearer," Persian *Arstibara*, the Astibaras of Ctesias.

and Median people, which was mine, was small. Then I sent an army to Media. The named HYDARNES, a Persian, my subject, I made him the Chief of these troops. I said so to them: "Go, slay the troops of the Medes, who do not call themselves my slaves." Then HYDARNES went to Media with the army. When he reached Media, there was a town, named Maru, in Media, there they fought the battle. The Chief of the Medians did not even resist a little, ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the army of the rebels. It was the 27th day of the month of 'Anamaka[1] when they delivered thus the battle. Then my army did nothing else; in the province named Kampanda, in Media, there it remained until I came to Media.

23 DARIUS the King says: The named DADARSIS, an Armenian my subject, I sent him to Armenia. Thus I said to him: "Go, the troops of the rebels do not call themselves my subjects, slay them. Then DADARSIS marched. When he reached Armenia, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSIS. They would deliver a battle. DADARSIS fought the battle with them. There

[1] Phraortes, or Sattarritta, was really king of Media, and the Susian revolt took place, like all the others, while Darius "was at Babylon." Hydarnes defeats the army the 27th of Anamaka, but that is evidently not 25 days after the battle of Zazanna on the Euphrates, but only a year afterwards. For it would have been impossible to have the news of the revolt of Media in the capital Rhages, at Babylon, in 25 days; moreover, Phraortes ought to have established his royal power throughout all Media in this very short time. On the contrary, there was a certain interval during which Phraortes was uncontested king of Media. And this man was mighty enough, as to hold in breath three generals of Darius, because Hydarnes was really defeated in the battle of Kampanda.

It would have been a very awkward victory, where the victors were obliged to retrograde, because Hydarnes, obliged to stay in Media, had his successor in Dadarsis, who had not to fight in Media, from whence the Persian had been expelled, but in Armenia where the Median had propelled their attack. Dadarsis after three battles fought in May and June, 519, 9,482, was obliged to remain in Armenia. A third general of Darius, Omises, defeated in Assyria in December 519 B.C.; 9,482, and May 518 B.C.; 9,483, and after these victories he was equally obliged to support the arrival of Darius in Media.

is a fortress, named Zuza, in Armenia, there ORMAZD brought help to me. By the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great many of the troops of the rebels. It was the 8th day of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought thus the battle. And for the second time, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSIS, they would deliver a battle. There is a fort named Tigra, in Armenia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels; it was the 18th day of the month of Thuravahara, that they fought thus the battle. And for the third time, the rebels assembled and marched against DADARSES; they would deliver a battle. There is a fort, named Uhyama, in Armenia, there they delivered the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was the 9th day of the month of Thaigarchis, when they fought the battle. And afterwards DADARSIS did nothing else, but waited on me, until I came to Media.

24 And DARIUS the King says: The named OMISES, a Persian, my subject, I sent him to Armenia, and I said so to him: "Go, the troops of the rebels do not obey me, slay them." Then OMISES marched. When he reached Armenia, the rebels assembled and marched against OMISES. They would deliver a battle. There is a town, named Issidus in Assyria,[1] there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was the 9th day of the month of Anamaka, when they fought the battle. And for the second time, the rebels

[1] I am not aware of the quotation in Assyrian monuments of Issidus. But why was the battle fought in Assyria? Because, very likely, the royal troops, after a not-mentioned disaster in Armenia, had been pushed backwards to Assyria.

assembled and marched against OMISES, they would deliver a battle. Then in a locality, named Autiyarus, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the end of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought the battle. Afterwards OMISES remained in Armenia, until I went to Media.

25 And DARIUS the King says: Then I left Babylon,[1] and went to Media. When I reached Media, there is a town, named Kundurrus, there arrived this PHRAORTES who said: "I exercise the kingly power over the Medians," in order to fight a battle. Then we fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD I slew a great number of the troops of this PHRAORTES. It was on the 25th day of the month of Adukanis,[2] that we fought the battle. Then this PHRAORTES fled with a few horsemen, and went to Rhagae: then I sent there my troops. Here he was seized and brought before me. I cut off his nose, his tongue and his ears, and I stung out his eyes.[3] He was held chained in my court. All the people saw him. And afterwards I put him on the cross at Ecbatana. And the men who had been his principal

[1] Darius left Babylon after the defeats of three of his generals. He put into pieces the army of Phraortes, in the month of Adukannas, probably the Tammuz or June-July, 518 B.C.; 9,483. He could therefore dispose about his person only two years and more after the battle of Zazanna: therefore Herodotus is quite exact in mentioning the long siege of Babylon, and Darius, although he does not state this fact expressly, is unable to deny the consequences of his own record.

[2] Probably the Tammuz, or June-July.

[3] This atrocious treatment is only applied to two captives, both guilty to have revived the remembrance of the Median Dynasty, to which Cithrantakhma may have belonged. The translation, "I stung out his eyes," is proved by the Persian *éakhsma avazam*, and the execution of the Median chiefs is related with more circumstances in the Median text.

It is known that the name of Rhagae is accompanied in the other versions by the words "a country in Media," which is wanting in the Median text. This is one of the evidences for attributing the second system's language to the inhabitants of Media.

adherents, I cut off their heads in the citadel of Ecbatana, and I hung them up within.

26 And DARIUS the King says: A man named CITHRATAKHMA,[1] a Sagartian, revolted against me, and spoke thus to the people, lying: "I exercise the kingly power, I descend from the race of VAK-ISTARRA." Then I dispatched my Persian and Median troops. A Mede, named TAKMASPADA, my subject, I appointed him Chief, and I spoke thus: "The troops of the rebels do not obey me, slay them utterly." Then TAKHMASPADA marched with the army, to fight a battle with this CITHRATAKHMA. ORMAZD brought help to me: by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels, and this CITHRATAKHMA was taken, and brought before me. I cut off his nose, and his ears, and stung out his eyes. He was held chained in my palace, all the people saw him. Afterwards I put him on the cross in the city named Arbela.

27 And DARIUS the King said: This is what I did in Media.

28 And DARIUS the King says: The Parthians and Hyrcanians revolted against me, and called themselves subjects of PHRAORTES. HYSTASPES my father was in Parthia, and the troops abandoned him and revolted. And then HYSTASPES went out with the army. There is a town, Hyspaozatis, in Parthia, there he fought a battle with the rebels. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of HYSTASPES slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 22nd day of the month of Viyakhna, when they fought the battle.

29 And DARIUS the King says: Then I sent my Persian army from Rhagae to HYSTASPES. When these troops

[1] Tritantaechmes.

reached HYSTASPES, HYSTASPES went out accompanied by these troops. There is a town, named Patigrabbana in Parthia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of HYSTASPES slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 1st day of the month of Garnapada,[1] that they fought the battle.

30 And DARIUS the King says: Afterward the province remained mine. This is what I did in Parthia.

31 And DARIUS the King says: The province named Margiana, revolted against me. A man, named PHRAATES,[2] they took him for their King. Then I sent as messenger to a man, named DADARSES, a Persian, my subject, who had the satrapy of Bactria, and I said: "Go, the people of the rebels do not obey to me, slay them utterly." Then DADARSES went with the army. The Margians fought a battle against him. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 23rd day of Athriyadiya, when we fought the battle.

32 And DARIUS the King says: Afterwards the land remained mine. This is what I did in Bactria.

[1] The Parthian revolt must have lasted more than one year. At the battle of Vispauatis Phraortes existed still, it was therefore not later than March, B.C. 518; 9,483. The battle of Patigrabbana took place only when Darius had taken Rhages, as he sent from this town auxiliaries to his father. Now this could not be before the 25th of Avakanas (July), when he gained the battle of Kundarus. The date of the battle of Patigrabbana is the 1st Garnapada, six days after the former date; the Garnapada of the battle is consequently the end of July, B.C. 517; 9,484. Darius remained therefore a long time at Rhagae, in order to complete the submission of Media.

[2] *Frada*, modern *Ferhad*.

COLUMN III.

33 And DARIUS the King says: There was a man, named OEOSDATES,[1] who dwelt in the town named Tarava, in (the district) of Iutia, in Persia. He arose for the second time in Persia, speaking to the people, and says: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS." Then the Persian people, who lived in houses, and who returned from the plains, made defection from me, went over to him; he exercised the kingly power in Persia.

34 And DARIUS the King says: And the people who were not dwelling in houses, had not revolted against me. These, and the Persians and Medians, many who were mine, I dispatched them. A Persian, named ARTABARDIYA, my subject, I appointed him to be their Chief. And another Persian army went to Media after me. Then ARTABARDIYA with his army, marched against Persia. When he arrived in Persia at a place, named Rakha in Persia, there this OEOSDATES who said: "I am SMERDIS," went against ARTABARDIYA, in order to fight a battle. And then they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great

[1] The second Pseudo-Smerdis called himself Vahyazdâta, "Created by Vahyaz," *i.e.* Ormazd: he has the same name as the tenth son of Haman, in the book of Esther, Vîzata. He dwelt in Tarava, gen. Taravana, which is the Târûn of our days, in Kerman or Laristan. All the battles were fought in this country. Paraga is certainly the modern Forg. In this spot was also Pasargada, *Paisiyauvada*, whereto fled the vanquished rebel, some days from Forg, near Darabdjard. The impostor was killed in Uvadaiçaya, as the Persian text has, the Audedj of our days.

The Median word for house is *Ummani*, and that gives the signification of the Susian word, which occurs so very often in the Susian texts. The Persian inhabitants seem to have been with Darius.

The 6th of Garnapada, date of the battle of Forg, can only be the 28th of July, 517 B.C.; 9,484.

number of the troops of OEOSDATES. It was on the 12th day of the month of Thuravahara, when they fought the battle. And then OEOSDATES with a few horsemen fled to Pasargada. From thence he started, and marched another time against ARTABARDIYA, in order to fight a battle. There is a town (a mountain),[1] named Paraga, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of this OEOSDATES. It was on the 6th day of the month of Garmapada when they delivered thus the battle, and they took this OEOSDATES, and the men who had been his principal followers, they took them also.

35 And DARIUS the King says: Then I hanged this OEOSDATES and the men, who had been his principal followers, in the town named Uvadechaya.[2]

36 And DARIUS the King says: This is what I did in Persia.

37 And DARIUS the King says: This OEOSDATES who had said: "I am SMERDIS," had dispatched troops to Arachosia, and he had appointed a man to be their Chief. A Persian, named VIVANA, my subject had the satrapy of Arachosia; against him he sent troops speaking thus: "Go, defeat VIVANA, and the troops who obey the King DARIUS." Then this army of Arachosia, which OEOSDATES had dispatched, marched against VIVANA. There is a fortress named Kapissakanis, in Arachosia, there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my army slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 13th of the month of Anamaka, when they fought thus the battle.

[1] The Persian has mountain, the translations simply country. The name exists today, it is the city of Forg.

[2] Badly written until now *Uvadaidaya*.

And for a second time, the rebels assembled to fight against VIVANA. There is a district called Gandumava,[1] there they fought the battle. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD my troops slew a great number of the troops of the rebels. It was on the 7th day of Viyakhna, that they fought thus the battle. And then the man, whom OEOSDATES had appointed to be the Chief of the rebels, fled away with a few horsemen. There is a fortress named Arsada, in Arachosia, the satrapy *irmali*[2] of VIVANA, there he retired. There VIVANA marched on his pursuing towards him, and he took there the man who had been made the Chief of the troops, and the men who were his principal followers, and killed them.

38 And DARIUS the King says: Afterwards the land remained mine own. This is what I did in Arachosia.

39 And DARIUS the King says: While I was in Persia and Media, a second time the Babylonians revolted. A man, named ARAKHA, an Armenian, son of HALDITA, arose in the town, named Dubala,[3] in Babylonia. From thence coming, he lied in speaking thus to the people: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS." And now the

[1] The name is Gandumava, and not Gandutara: Sir Henry Rawlinson's assimilation to Gandum is corroborated by the Median text.

The battle of Kapisakanis, probably "hunt of apes," is in December, 517 B.C.; 9,484. The battle of Gandum therefore cannot be earlier than the month of March of 516 B.C.; 9,484: six years after the Margian's revolt.

[2] The word *irmali* is not translated in the Persian text.

[3] The name of Haldita is ascertained in the Median, it shows the error of all former interpreters, amongst whom I am myself, that the old Persian had no *l*, what was difficult to be believed, as the same words who have an *l* in Sanscrit, have also conserved that letter in modern Persian. The Babylonian Dubala is still existing, it is called Dibleh. The Median texts complete the record of the second Babylonian revolt, mutilated in the Persian and Babylonian texts. With respect to the name of the month, the Persian is lost; as the *m* and the *v* have only one expression in the Sumerian scripture, there would be some doubt if the word is *Varkazana*, "killing of wolves," or *Margazana*, "breeding of birds." We accept the latter. As the Assyrian equivalent is lost, the place of this month is uncertain.

people of Babylonia revolted against me, and went over to this ARAKHA. And he took possession of Babylon, and exercised the kingly power in Babylon. And then I sent my army against the Babylonians. A Mede, named INTAPHERNES,[1] I made him Chief of the troops and I said so to them: "Go and defeat the Babylonian people which does not obey me." And INTAPHERNES marched with the army against Babylon. ORMAZD brought help to me, by the grace of ORMAZD the army of INTAPHERNES captured Babylon, and slew a great number of men. It was on the 22nd day of the month of Margazana, when this ARAKHA, who said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR," was taken, and the men who were his principal followers, were taken also and chained. I ordered: "ARAKHA and the men who are his principal followers, shall be put on the cross."

40 And DARIUS the King says: This is what I did in Babylon.

41 And DARIUS the King says: This what I have done, I did it always by grace of ORMAZD. This I did: I fought nineteen battles by the grace of ORMAZD, I defeated the armies. I took nine kings:

One, named GAUMATA the Magian, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS," he caused the revolt of Persia.

And a Susian, named ASSINA, who caused the revolt of Susians, and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the Susians."

And a Babylonian, named NIDINTABEL, lied and said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS," he caused the revolt of the Babylonians.

And a Persian, named MARTIYA, he lied and said: "I am IMMANNES, King of the Susians," he caused the revolt of the Susians.

[1] This Intaphernes is not the same person as the first of the conjurors.

And a Mede, named PHRAORTES, who lied and said: "I am SATTARRITTA, of the race of VAK-ISTARRA," he caused the revolt of the Medians.

And a Sagartian, named CITHRANTAKHMA, who lied and said: "I exercise the kingly power, I am of the race of VAK-ISTARRA," he caused the revolt of the Sagartians.

And a Margian, named FRADA, who lied and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the Margians," and he caused the revolt of the Margians.

And a Persian, named OEOSDATES, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, son of CYRUS," and he caused the revolt of Persia.

And a Babylonian, who lied and said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS," who caused the revolt of the Babylonians.

42 And DARIUS the King says: These are the nine[1] kings whom I took in the battles.

43 And DARIUS the King says:[2] These are the provinces which revolted. The demon of the lie excited them to rebellion, that these provinces revolted. And afterwards ORMAZD gave them unto my hand, and what was my will, was executed by them.

44 And DARIUS the King says: Thou, O King, who wilt be in future, who is friend, protect him always: the man who lies, always punish him severely. If thou sayest: "So it may be," then my land will stand for ever.

45 And DARIUS the King says: That which I have done, I have done it at every time by the grace of ORMAZD. And thou, who in future days shalt peruse this tablet, which I

[1] Nine kings. There are ten on the rock; the image of the Sacian Iskunka has been made in the rock after the finish of the first translation.

[2] We can say, that the great part of the Persian texts, in all its details, has been made out only after the final interpretations of the Median translation, and all gaps have been filled up. There were a great number of passages which were badly read and entirely misunderstood.

made, believe that which is written in this tablet, and do not say: "They are lies."

46 And DARIUS the King says: May I die as a Mazdaean,[1] as this is true. I never uttered a lie in all my life.

47 And DARIUS the King says:[2] By the grace of ORMAZD, I have elsewhere made many things, which therefore are not written in this tablet. Therefore they are not written. He who will peruse in future days this tablet, let him not think that these things (which are related here) are exaggerated, let him not be incredulous, let him not say: "That is falsehood."

48 And DARIUS the King says: The Kings whoever preceded me, while they lived, have never done any thing like that, which I did by the grace of ORMAZD in all my life.

49 And DARIUS the King says: And now, believe thou, what I have done. Say: "It is so,"[3] and do not contest it. And if thou dost not contest this record, and if thou sayest it to the people, ORMAZD may be thy friend, and mayest thou have offspring, and mayest thou live for long time. And if thou contest this record, and shalt not tell it to the people, ORMAZD will kill thee, and also thou shalt not have any offspring.

50 And DARIUS the King says: That which I have done I

[1] Highly important, the Median *ankirine Oramazdara*, proves that the only possible way to read the two Persian letters wanting, is *Auramazda* (*ya a*) *tiyaiy*, "may I die a Mazdean," and not "Ormazd be my witness," as others presumed.

[2] The clause 47 has been wrongly interpreted: Darius has not written all, because he made other monuments. As it is not written here, people may not think it be false. That is the very simple sense of the phrase. Here is the Persian clause

Mātyn hya aparam imām dipim patiparçātiy, avahyā paruva thaćayātiy, tya manā kartam naisam varnavātiy durukhtam maniyātiy.

"Ne ille qui postea istam tabulam leget, ei nimis videaur quod ego feci (ne) id ei incredile appareat, ne dicat; mendacium."

[3] The Persian had: *avathā māniya*. "Ita sit" dic.

have done it in all my life by the grace of ORMAZD. ORMAZD, the god of the Arians, brought help to me, and the other gods who exist.

51 And DARIUS the King says: Therefore ORMAZD, the god of the Arians,[1] brought help to me, as well as the other gods, because I was not a wicked man, nor a liar, nor a violent tyrant, neither I, nor my family. I reigned according to the Divine Law, and have committed no violence against the lawful man nor against the Judge. The man who worked for our house, I have cherished him, and the man who sinned, I utterly destroyed him I have committed no violence against any gallant man.

52 And DARIUS the King says: Thou who shalt reign in future times, never be friend to the man who lies, but also do not injustice to any body.

53 And DARIUS the King says: Thou who in future wilt see this tablet, which I have written, as well as these images, do not destroy them. As long as thou canst[2] preserve them as they are. And if thou wilt see these tablets, and these figures, and do not injure them, and preserve them as they are, as long as thou canst, ORMAZD may be friend to thee, and mayest thou have an offspring, and mayest thou live a long life, and all that thou shalt

[1] The clause 51 is equally of a very great importance. The Persian affords us the true origin of the word *Avesta*. It is *Abastā*, the Divine Law; it is explained by the Assyrian *kinat*, the laws. The Persian has: *apariy ābastām upariyāyam*, "subter legem regebam." *Naiy ukārim naiy druvaçtam zaura akunavam*, "non in bonum non justum violentiam feci;" in Median: *inne Ibtakra, inne Istukra appantoikkimmas hutta*. Moreover, the clause, "god of the Arians," is only to be read in the Median version, and in the Persian form *Ariyanam*, instead of the Median *Hariyapinna*. Darius addressed this epithet specially to the true Median of Turanian offspring, and therefore he insisted upon the Arian mythology. The antagonism of Arians and Medes is already mentioned by Herodotus vii., 62, who states that the Medes were formerly called Arians.

[2] The following clauses differ also greatly from the adopted Persian translations: *yāvā taumataiy ahatiy*, has been translated, "as long as thou hast offspring," instead of "as long as thou canst," *tautā*, from the Persian *tu, tuvanisten*.

do, ORMAZD will increase it. And if thou destroy these tablets and those images, and dost not preserve them, ORMAZD may kill thee, and thou mayest not have any offspring, and whatever thou doest, ORMAZD will pronounce his curses on it.

54 And DARIUS the King says:[1]

INTAPHERNES by name, son of OEOSPARES, a Persian, and OTANES by name, son of SOCHRES, a Persian, and GOBRYAS, by name, son of MARDONIUS, a Persian, and HYDARNES, by name, son of MEGABIGNES, a Persian, and MEGABYZUS by name, son of DADYES, a Persian, and ARDUMANES, by name, son of OCHUS, a Persian,[2] these men accompanied me, when I killed GOMATES the Magian, who said: "I am SMERDIS, son of CYRUS." And henceforth these men were my companions. Thou, who wilt be King in future times, protect always that sort of men.

55 And DARIUS the King says:[3] I have made also else-

[1] The last paragraph, containing the names of the six conspirators, is of a great historical value, and the Median text gives valuable hints to the restoration. It is known that the said Ardumanes is replaced in Herodotus, by Aspathines; but even this error confirms the veracity of the Father of History. He was led into the mistake by a Persian, who gave the name of another favourite of Darius, and whose portrait is figured on the sepulchral monument of Naksh-i-Rustam. But although he was in a great position at the court of the Persian monarch, he had not been present at the murder of the Magian.

[2] The names of the conspirators are, except one, the same as Herodotus has mentioned them. Intaphernes' father is not given by the Father of History; Otanes' father is named Pharnaspes, instead of Sochres, *Thukhra*, "the splendid" in Persian. Gobryas is also in the Greek writer, the son of Mardonius, who was the grandfather of the homonyn, vanquished of Plataea. The father of Megabyzus, *Bagabukhsa*, is in Herodotus Zopyrus, hardly a true Persian name; Darius calls him *Daduhya*, Dadyes, name of a Persian general in the Persians of Aeschylus.

[3] The last paragraph is entirely defaced in the Persian original, except the word "I have made." I believe it, therefore, to be certain that the detached text, styled L by Norris, is the translation of this wanting final clause, which once filled up three lines in the Persian original. The passage itself is of a first-rate importance, and has been put on the frontispiece of the bas-relief, just in opposition to the Median nationality and faith. The explanation which I gave is sure. There are four things made

where a book in Aryan language, that formerly did not exist. And I have made the text of the Divine Law (*Avesta*), and a commentary of the Divine Law, and the prayer, and the translation. And it was written, and I sealed it. And then the ancient book was restored by me in all nations, and the nations followed it.

DETACHED INSCRIPTIONS OF BEHISTUN OVER THE FIGURES OF THE CAPTIVES.

A.

This is GOMATES the Magian, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS, I exercise the kingly power."

B.

This is ASSINA, who lied and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the SUSIANS."

C.

This is NIDINTABEL, who lied and said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS, I exercise the kingly power over the Babylonians."

by Darius: *Haduk ukku*, Persian *hadugām ābastāyā*, the text of the law, ZU (monogram) *ukku* . . . . . *ābastāyā*, the commentary of the law; the HI (monogram) Persian *ẓandi*, the prayer; the *eppi*, Median word, perhaps translation.

This ancient book, the *Avesta*, was restored by him in all regions.

As the Arian language can only be the Persian, it is evident that the book made by the king, and which did not exist before, is a translation from the Bactrian text into old Persian. It can be regarded as quite consistent that neither *Avesta* nor *Zend* are Zend words, but both occur in the Persian inscriptions, signifying "law" and "prayer" (comp. *ẓandiyani* "I pray").

The word "restore" is the same which, in the history of the Magian, explains the Persian *patipadam akunavam*, "I restored."

We have therefore in the Median text of the Behistun the most ancient indication alluding to the history of the Zendavesta; and this is not the least important of the historical informations which we owe to this precious document.

D.

This is PHRAORTES, who lied and said: "I am SATTARITTA, of the offspring of VAK-ISTARRA, I exercise the kingly power over the Medes."

E.

This is MARTIYA, who lied and said: "I am INMANES, I exercise the kingly power over the Susians."

F.

This is CHITHRANTAKHMA, who lied and said: "I am of the race of VAK-ISTARRA, I exercise the kingly power over the Sagartians."

G.

This is OEOSDATES, who lied and said: "I am SMERDIS, the son of CYRUS, I exercise the kingly power."

I.

This is ARAKHA, who lied and said: "I am NEBUCHADNEZZAR, son of NABONIDUS, I exercise the kingly power over the Babylonians."

K.

This is FRADA, who lied and said: "I exercise the kingly power over the Margians."

M.

This is ISKUNKA,[1] the Sacian.

[1] Persian *Çkuñkha.*